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Editorial Comment

Every Picture Tells a Story

SO MANY of the books and articles about political corruption have been based on the careers of men who long ago served their prison terms or went to pretentious graves that we are apt to be lulled into the belief that all this is a thing of the past, along with the high-wheeled bicycle.

But it isn't so. Vote-buying and bribery still flourish. There are plenty of places where "voters" are imported. While illegal acts which have the effect of nullifying our democratic processes are matters of general knowledge in more than a few communities, shrewd politicians cover their tracks so well that sufficient proof for successful prosecution frequently is lacking.

Those who wish to safeguard the honesty of elections might take a tip from the labor unions, some of which have armed their picket lines with those little cameras which click off many pictures on strips of film as fast as the shutter can open and close. It's difficult to argue down a photographic record, and anyone engaged in extralegal activities around a voting booth is pretty sure to be camera-shy.

"The Most Feathers"

ABOUT half of the states have adopted tobacco taxes, some of them high as compared with those of neighboring states.

Now we hear threats of prodigious fines and other penalties against anyone guilty of "smuggling" cigarettes from a taxless state to a taxing state. Iowa promises to levy a penalty of fifty dollars a package on anyone possessing more than two packages which lack the state stamps. New York City, in which there is a one-cent city tax and a two-cent state tax, infers darkly that it might slap fines totalling $1,650 and jail sentences totalling more than six months on any rapscallion commuter who brings a carton in from across the river in New Jersey even if he does so only as a favor to an office associate.

The possibilities are breath-taking. About a million commuters rush into New York City every morning and out again every night, a large proportion of them from the states of Connecticut and New Jersey. It is difficult to imagine just how "smuggling" can be prevented. Will there be customs gates at which all these people will stop to have their baggage and persons searched by a prohibitively costly collection system? Might the situation become a duplicate of the prohibition era?

It might be easier and cheaper in the long run to further the idea of tax policies formed on a nation-wide or regional basis and the genuine

elimination of interstate trade barriers.

There is little profit in arguing that temporary emergency taxes for specific purposes have a chronic tendency to become permanent and for general purposes. The cold truth is that municipalities and other units of governments are having more rather than fewer jobs to do and they are constantly driven to find new sources of revenue wherever they can and as quickly as they can.

In the case of the cigarette tax, the experts will soon be laying figures end to end to show how many cigarettes are bought on the other side of the border. But harassed legislative bodies, seeking means of footing the bill for demanded services, will wish for the integrated tax program the experts advise but will still adhere, from necessity, to the ancient concept that the art of taxing is like plucking a goose—the art of getting "the most feathers with the least squawk."

New League Headquarters

As announced in the January issue of the REVIEW, the League must vacate its present offices because the new vehicular tunnel under the East River will cut through its present quarters. Accordingly, our new address, beginning August 1st, will be 299 Broadway, New York City. Members and friends of the League are urged to pay the new offices a visit when in the vicinity.

Training for Public Service: University of Chicago

By LEONARD D. WHITE, *University of Chicago*

"There is need for much experimentation and probably need for continuing variety in the methods of education and training for public service."

THE nature of the work in the field of public administration at the University of Chicago and its relationship to the training of young men and women for the public service are largely governed by the general objectives of the University. Since its foundation the University has given principal emphasis to its responsibilities for research and for education on the graduate level for the various professions. Training in the vocational sense has never played a prominent part on the campus and the trend is away from the vocational aspects of education at the present time. The most recent indication of this tendency is the revised curriculum of the University Law School, introduced this year, which lays much emphasis upon economics, psychology, and government as well as the broader aspects of jurisprudence. Of the various graduate schools the work in the School of Social Service Administration has perhaps been most definitely vocational in nature, a situation growing out of the present crisis in the welfare field.

Work in public administration is offered in various departments and schools of the University. Thus, in addition to the training in public welfare administration offered by the School of Social Service Administration just referred to, work in educational administration is given by the Department of Education, work in public finance is given by the Department of Economics, the study of administrative law is carried on principally in the Law School although to some extent in the Department of Political Science, the work of the regulatory commissions is analyzed in the School of Business, as well as in the Department of Political Science, while central management problems have been developed principally in the Department of Political Science.

Within the Department of Political Science, public administration is recognized as one of the five principal fields into which the subject matter of government is divided for teaching and research purposes. These fields are political parties and public opinion, public administration, theory, international law and diplomacy, and public law and jurisprudence. The general objectives of the Department of Political Science have been stated in the following terms: to train students for research in political science; to prepare students for teaching positions in universities, colleges, and junior colleges; and finally to lay the broad foundation for successful work in political and civic leadership and in the higher civil service.

The general objectives sought by training in public administration at the University of Chicago are consequently to develop a broad understanding of and insight into governmental management, to secure an appreciation of long-range trends and significant problems, and to cultivate

an appreciation of the basic forces and pressures which govern the course of administration and which largely give form and substance both to administrative problems and to their solution. The university is concerned not only with describing and analyzing the administrative system but seeks also to ascertain why the system is what it is and what the circumstances are which will probably mold its future form in succeeding years.

INSTRUCTION GENERAL

Instruction in the subject matter of public administration consequently tends to overlook the specific work of the various line departments in favor of more general considerations. To this observation an exception should be made for the instruction carried on in the School of Social Service Administration and for the work in educational administration carried on by the Department of Education.

Returning to the courses offered by the Department of Political Science, it may be said that they are designed primarily for other purposes than the preparation of men and women for specific governmental positions or types of positions. At the same time the generality of the subject matter of these courses is tempered by the practical experience which the members of the department have acquired—Clarence E. Ridley as a former city manager, Simeon E. Leland as a member of the Illinois Tax Commission, Floyd W. Reeves as former personnel director of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Marshall E. Dimock as assistant secretary of labor, and Leonard D. White as former member of the United States Civil Service Commission.

Close relations are maintained with the group of organizations of public officials at 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago: Public Administration Clearing House, the International City Managers' Association, the Civil Service Assembly, the American Public Welfare Association, the Municipal Finance Officers' Association, the Council of State Governments, and others. Several members of the staff of "1313" are members of the Department of Political Science or of other departments or schools of the University: Louis Brownlow, Lyle Belsley, Carl Chatters, and Herbert Emmerich in the Political Science Department; Frank Bane, Fred Hoehler, and Marietta Stevenson in the School of Social Service Administration. From time to time these experts give courses or special lectures which supplement the work of the university in a very practical and helpful manner.

NO INTERNESHIPS

The graduate student body in the field of political science numbers about one hundred of whom perhaps one-third are taking major work leading to the Master's or Doctor's degree in the special field of public administration. About six out of every ten graduates find their careers in teaching in institutions of higher learning; the remainder find positions in public administration or in one of the many quasi-governmental agencies which are concerned with problems of public administration. The university does not have a formal system of interneship as a part of its graduate instruction. The value of such an interneship is undoubted and in one way or another many graduate stu-

dents in public administration actually serve as apprentices or internes at some stage in their development. In this connection the organizations housed at 1313 East 60th Street have been of great value.

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION TRAINING

Students who indicate an interest in public service careers are invariably urged not to content themselves with work in public administration alone. They must also become proficient in certain tool subjects, especially statistics and accounting. They are also advised to take work in public finance which is offered by the Department of Economics, as well as a substantial amount of work in the general field of economics. Students interested in public careers in personnel administration are urged to take work in psychology, statistics, and test construction.

With due account of these special directions in which work may be selected for special fields of employment in the public service, it must be emphasized, nevertheless, that training in public administration at the University of Chicago is not designed to prepare men and women for specific administrative positions. A recent statement by the Political Science Department emphasizes this point of view: "The department does not undertake a training program specifically designed to prepare for entry into any specific branch of the public service. The basic training in content and method is however a useful preparation for many of the more responsible posts in the public service. An increasing number of students trained in the Political Science Department are now employed in the public service, not because they were expressly trained for this work but because their graduate studies and aptitudes fitted them for successful service in this field."

There is need for much experimentation and probably need for continuing variety in the methods of education and training for public service employment. The service itself changes from decade to decade, and it is difficult to foresee any single standard pattern which universities can follow. Each institution of higher learning will make its special contribution, now in one form, now in another, depending upon its equipment, traditions, and major purposes, and its understanding of public service needs. It seems certain that collectively they are destined to make a greater contribution in the future than they have in the past, notable as that contribution has been in the scientific and professional branches of government work.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the second of a series of articles on training for the public service. The first, "The Making of a Public Servant," by William E. Mosher, appeared in the June 1939 issue of the REVIEW.

Public Housing Creates a New Profession

By BEATRICE GREENFIELD ROSAHN, *Research Associate*
Citizens' Housing Council of New York

Increase in large-scale low-rent housing projects, both public and private, brings demand for men and women, trained in a multiplicity of subjects, to assume the responsibility of their administration.

DURING the past five years this country has witnessed a phenomenal growth of interest in a new sphere of government activity—public housing. The press, the radio, the public platform, each of these agencies has given aid to professional housers in making the American people newly conscious of a century-old problem. The social importance of building decent dwellings for families of low income has been brought home to thousands of men and women who were formerly unaware of or indifferent to the existence of slums. Today, families forced to live in substandard buildings, who were previously unorganized, uneducated, and inarticulate, have begun to make vocal their desire for a better environment in which to bring up their children.

Simultaneously with this growing demand for low-rent housing, and as a direct result of the increasing number of completed projects, there has been developing a new profession—public housing management. Not long ago "housing management" sounded odd and unfamiliar to all but a select few who were active in the housing movement. Today the average reader of a daily newspaper has a fairly accurate conception of what the phrase means.

In this article an attempt will be made to illustrate the growth of housing management as a profession by tracing its course through several channels. There is perhaps no better way to judge the growth of any human activity or to gauge the extent of interest in it than to review the literature that has been published on the subject. Another indication of importance, particularly in academic fields, may be found in the number of courses relating to a subject given in high schools, colleges, or other educational institutions, as well as the student demand for such courses. A third index of vitality in any profession or vocation is the degree of activity among its members as an organized group.

When the first public projects built by the Housing Division of PWA under the original centralized program were under way, it was realized that a serious need would soon be felt for qualified persons to take over the administration of these enterprises. Prior to this time a moderate degree of general interest had been evinced in British methods of housing management, particularly in the Octavia Hill system. Some literature on the subject had been imported from Europe, and in addition there were available a few articles and pamphlets published in this country as well as the annual reports of several limited dividend and philanthropic housing projects then in operation. For the most part, however, there was a dearth of both literature and experience in the management of low-rent housing developments, and there were few men or

women sufficiently well trained to take over the administration of public projects. It became increasingly apparent to those on the front line of public housing that something must be done, and done quickly, to recruit and train qualified personnel for housing management.

FIRST TRAINING GROUP

In December 1935 the National Association of Housing Officials, in coöperation with the Housing Division of the PWA and the Resettlement Administration, launched the first Management Training Institute organized in this country. It was conducted for a period of four months and consisted of classroom lectures and discussion, followed by a series of field trips to large-scale private and limited dividend housing projects. About seventy-five men and women attended, many of whom were selected and sent to Washington with definite commitments from local advisory committees. A few staff members of the management branch of the PWA Housing Division and of the Resettlement Administration were in attendance and assisted NAHO in various details of the course.

It was anticipated that all those at this first institute would be placed on public housing management staffs. It is gratifying to report that many of the students are today in charge of going projects and have themselves assumed positions of leadership in the field.

When the United States housing act was approved on September 1, 1937—the act that established the United States Housing Authority and provided for a decentralized housing program with an appropriation from Congress of $800,000,000—housing ceased to be a temporary emergency relief measure and became a long-term legitimate responsibility of government. This great event in the history of public housing immediately intensified the need for trained persons to assume responsibility as housing managers, and again plans were under way for a training course under official auspices. A two-weeks institute was organized and conducted in Washington, D. C., during the summer of 1938 by the National Association of Housing Officials with the close coöperation of the United States Housing Authority and local authorities throughout the country.

About one hundred men and women attended, most of whom were either on the management staff of public projects, had definite assurances that they would be appointed, or were holding positions as secretaries of local housing authorities. The lecturers included many leading figures in the field of housing management, both public and private; the discussions centered largely around problems involved in administering publicly-owned and operated developments. The institute was under the direction of Abraham Goldfeld, who for ten years has been manager of Lavanburg Homes[1] and active in many other branches of the housing movement. The lectures and discussions were later edited and now constitute one of the best available publications on the subject of low-rent housing management.[2]

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[1] A low-rent philanthropic project on the Lower East Side of New York.

[2] *Managing Low-rent Housing*, published by National Association of Housing Officials, Chicago, Ill., 1939. 285 pp.

This summer a third Management Training Institute is being given under the auspices of New York University in coöperation with NAHO and with the assistance of staff members of the United States Housing Authority. This four-weeks institute will be divided approximately equally between lectures, discussions, and field work in large-scale housing projects now in full operation. It was made possible by a special grant from the Lavanburg Foundation of New York, and is open to members and staff employees of local housing authorities; persons recommended by the authorities as possible future employees in management or other phases of their work; those actively interested in large-scale housing developments undertaken by private, limited-dividend companies, coöperatives, the Farm Security Administration, and other private, public, or semi-public agencies.

Courses dealing with housing management have been given within the past few years as part of the regular curriculum in several New York colleges and schools. One of the most comprehensive was offered by the Division of General Education of New York University in coöperation with the New York City Civil Service Commission and the New York City Housing Authority in the winter of 1937-1938. Planned as a background course for men and women who contemplated taking civil service examinations for positions on the management staff of the Housing Authority, it consisted of fifteen lectures given by as many leading personalities in the field. In addition a number of field trips were arranged to large-scale projects within Greater New York.

MANY PEOPLE INTERESTED

Almost two thousand individuals registered for the course, one of the largest classes ever assembled in the university, although less than one hundred public housing positions were available under the civil service at that time.

During 1938 and 1939 a course entitled "Problems of Administration in Large-scale Low-rent Housing" was given at New York University by Frank C. Lowe, manager, and Louise Blackam, recreation consultant, of Hillside Homes. The lectures covered the major features of housing management such as problems preceding the opening of a project, selection of tenants, administrative organization, personnel, operating budget, collection of rents, legal actions, maintenance of service, furtherance of community activities, the social program, responsibility of management and tenants. About fifty students attended each session, some of whom subsequently took civil service examinations. During this period a special course of lectures on problems of the building superintendent in a housing project was also given at New York University.

Another practical series of lectures on housing management was given during the past winter at the Rand School of Social Science in New York City, in preparation for new civil service examinations with the local housing authority.[3] The course dealt

[3]New York City was the first in the country to bring public housing personnel under civil service. The first examinations were given in July 1938, and placed the

specifically with legislation relating to housing, with problems of occupancy, personnel, financial administration and leasing, and with the social aspects of housing management. The lecturers throughout this series were George A. Boehm, architect, H. Robert Mandel, who is active in real estate and housing circles, and Abraham Goldfeld.[4]

The interest in and demand for courses of training in housing management have been so great in recent months that many schools and colleges in other parts of the country now contemplate offering such opportunities in the near future. In the South definite plans are under way for a Management Training Institute at the Xavier School of Social Work for Negroes in New Orleans.

At Columbia University, at the New School for Social Research, at Hunter College, and other institutions in New York City, where general housing courses are given, at least one session is devoted to a discussion of management problems, and the likelihood is that more time will be set aside for this purpose in the future. Another interesting innovation under NAHO is the present plan for three-day regional institutes to be held in different parts of the country at which active housing managers can exchange notes on experience and problems.

following management positions under the merit system: director, bureau of tenant relations, director of plants and structures, building managers, building superintendents, and management assistants. Detroit, Michigan, has also placed public housing personnel under the civil service and several other cities are now taking steps to do so.

[4]All actively associated with the Citizens' Housing Council of New York.

The striking increase in the amount of published literature on housing management well reflects the general trend here outlined. It is particularly revealing to compare the length of a bibliography appearing at the end of an early pamphlet[5] with a recent bibliography issued by the Citizens' Housing Council of New York.[6] The first contained thirty-five references to literature published both here and abroad. The recent bibliography covers nine and one-half pages and includes almost two hundred references.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

There now remains the third index of growth in this new profession. During the past two years project managers and others associated with the work have organized committees and special groups to engage in research and other educational enterprises for the advancement of knowledge in this branch of housing. One of the most active of these has been the Committee on Housing Management of the Citizens' Housing Council of New York, composed of nineteen experts in the field. In June 1938, following a year of intensive study of management problems relating especially to low-rent housing, the committee issued a report containing many important recommendations some of which have since been adopted by official housing agencies.[7]

[5]*Housing Management—Its History and Relation to Present-Day Housing Problems*, by Beatrice Greenfield Rosahn, published by National Municipal League, New York, 1935. 32 pp.

[6]*Bibliography on Housing Management*, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, 470-4th Avenue, New York, 1939. 10 pp.

[7]*Report and Recommendations of the Committee on Housing Management*, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, June, 1938. 49 pp.

This year the committee has been occupied with three highly worthwhile research projects. One of these, completed recently, culminated in the widely praised Exhibit on Planning for Low-cost Management which has been displayed both in New York City and in Washington.

STUDY PROJECTS

A second study which promises to reveal some highly interesting facts when it is completed is being pursued under the heading of "Why Tenants Move." It is expected to throw some new light on landlord-tenant relations.

Another study in progress is concerned with relations between the civil service and housing management personnel, with special reference to New York City. The committee has enlisted the coöperation of managers throughout the country in setting up desirable standards of education, training, and personal qualifications for housing managers. It has also solicited ideas as to types of questions which should be asked in a civil service examination in order to assure selection of the most qualified personnel. In the near future a report will be published which, it is believed, will prove highly useful to housing authorities in cities outside of New York.

A second group of professional housing managers, the Committee on Housing Management of NAHO, was recently absorbed by the newly organized Professional Housing Managers' Division of the same association. During its short period of activity the committee prepared a report on disinfestation of household furnishings prior to moving families into public projects, which will soon be ready for distribution.

The Professional Housing Managers' Division, under the chairmanship of Raymond Voigt, manager of Parklawn in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, has as its purpose: (a) the establishment of professional standards of practice; (b) the interchange of housing management experience; and (c) the furtherance of the social objectives of housing through management. To achieve these objectives the division will attempt to record systematically necessary data to establish criteria of management practice, to encourage training in the profession, and to undertake related activities.

AN OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

One of the first efforts of the new division was in connection with the third Management Training Institute, previously described. It is anticipated that the *Housing Management Bulletin*, published monthly by NAHO since February 1938, will become the official organ of the division.[8]

Securing qualified people to assume responsibility for the administration of public housing projects has been a difficult task in some parts of the country. The problem is primarily due to the multiplicity of duties which require that the manager possess a rare combination of personal qualifications and educational background. These can best be appreciated, perhaps, by quoting from the recommendations of the Committee on

[8]Issued originally by the short-lived American Society of Women Housing Managers organized in 1935. Now edited by the writer and Abraham Goldfeld.

Housing Management, Citizens' Housing Council of New York, in its 1938 report: "The committee believes that public housing managers should possess the following characteristics in addition to the qualities of emotional stability and administrative ability essential in all executives: (a) sound judgment, (b) tactfulness, (c) tolerance of others' views, (d) general understanding of social problems and purposes of public housing."

VARIED KNOWLEDGE ESSENTIAL

Furthermore, "to fulfill the functions of the job most efficiently, the manager should have a broad general background in, and detailed knowledge of, the following subjects: methods of selecting tenants, personnel administration, accounting methods and principles of large-scale purchasing, technique of preparing budgets and financial reports, methods of keeping records, insurance requirements of a large-scale enterprise, building maintenance, basic principles in the cultivation of a community program, the technique of developing desirable public relations."

A general knowledge of local, state, and federal laws is likewise considered desirable, as is an understanding of the labor market and general industrial trends, local housing conditions, current rentals, general construction methods, materials and costs.

As to training and experience, the following is recommended in the pamphlet, *Administrative Personnel for Local Housing Authorities,* issued by NAHO: "At least three years experience in an executive position in business or public administration, preferably in the management of housing properties; a sound knowledge of property maintenance, business management, bookkeeping, real estate law, and the elements of building design and construction; a thorough understanding of the methods and principles of recreational work and community organization, and, preferably, at least two years experience in these or allied fields."

If local housing authorities throughout the country succeed in securing men and women with these varied attributes to manage public projects, the contribution which good housing is expected to make in creating better citizens, will be assured.

A Citizen in the World of Tomorrow

By MIRIAM ROHER, *National Municipal League*

Being an informal transcript of the impressions of a governmental-minded visitor to Flushing Meadow, including extended mention of the New York City building and a film called "The City" (admission to both, free).

NO CITIZEN, however civic-minded, should be blamed for not rushing to the New York City building as soon as his train pulls into Flushing Meadow. But after he has gaped a while at the Trylon and Perisphere (which are far more impressive than the innumerable scale replicas which are currently flooding the country), heard the talking robot at the telephone building, stood in line at General Motors, eaten a hot dog or a hamburger, and accomplished some of the other purely extra-curricular pleasures, he could do much worse than venture inside the huge two-and-a-half acre permanent glass-sided building which stands in a small park of its own just the other side of the theme center, and which is devoted to the exhibit of New York City itself.

The invitation is not meant for New Yorkers alone, nor indeed only for those who preserve their amateur status as citizens. The man who was in charge of getting together the exhibits for the building told us he hoped out-of-towners would come in to find out a little more about the world's number one metropolis. Even he is too modest. In the opinion of one who started out to be skeptical, the New York City building is a remarkable example of the still infantile and stumbling art of showing citizens what they vote and pay for. Putting it more ambitiously, it is an important illustration of how to show democracy at work, and it has lessons and entertainment for citizens, public officials, experts, and just plain people.

Later on, when the Fair is over, they are going to turn the structure into a recreation building with skating rink, basketball, etc., etc. Maybe that is why they made such a box-like structure, big but hardly soaring. Anyhow, the glass brick walls give plenty of light and there are those, enthusiasts for "modern" architecture, who would even consider the place beautiful from the outside.

The inside is the thing, however. Starting from a central exhibit consisting of a symbolized representation of the Board of Estimate, with white leather partial seats for each member, the exhibits branch off in all directions, to show what is done by every department of the City of New York (population seven million, this year's budget nearly a billion).

If you follow habit and start at the right, you are in for a disappointment. Great big pictorial statistics, colored, on some sort of composition board, with nicely painted legends above, below, and beside, decorate the walls and comprise the whole of the exhibits near the door. In a book pictorial statistics have their place—especially when the reader compares them with the old-fashioned bar and graph charts which had as little reader appeal as the statistical tables they replaced to begin with. But all that floor space and all that money and all that civic enthusiasm for the Fair

leads the visitor to expect something a little livelier. The guidebook (which you don't need) says of exhibit number three, the Corporation Counsel, that "graphs explain the legal protection given to citizens and visualize the enormous sums for which the city is sued, but stress the fact that only 2 per cent of claims have had to be paid." It is just that, and unless you are the Corporation Counsel himself, or a victim in search of a city-supported accident, it must leave you cold.

FIREMEN STAGE A SHOW

We were beginning to yawn over number six, Parole Commission—"Charts show great difference in cost between prison and parole. Exhibit demonstrates that 85 per cent of parolees respond to proper education and environment," when a tremendous clanging sent us automatically scurrying to the scene of the fire.

It *was* a fire, the most interesting fire we've ever attended. Every two hours the fire department puts on a show in front of their exhibit, where they have a little stage. They announce it, appropriately, with the clang of a fire bell. There is a replica of the side of an apartment building stuck right on the fire department's dais. A fireman announcer with an unfortunate tendency to swallow the ends of sentences keeps up a running commentary as picked buddies—good looking young men, all of them—climb ladders, jump out of windows into nets, and otherwise demonstrate valor and capability.

The second act takes place in a glass enclosed booth specially designed for the starting of blazes by women cleaning clothes with gasoline. A real blaze is made, which is a safety-first lesson for the children (who attend in large numbers with teachers) plus an excuse for another member of the fire department to demonstrate how the alarm system works. There is a real alarm box, connected with a wall map studded with illuminable spots signifying fire stations. There is much ringing of bells and popping of lights as the fireman theoretically puts out his hypothetical fire at the corner of Forty-second Street and Broadway. After the lecture is over anyone who wishes may go to the alarm box, pull the lever and hear the bells and see the lights. For us timid souls who have always wanted to, but never dared because of possible police resentment, it is a golden opportunity and an end to one inhibition.

A MURDER SOLVED

The police department puts on a show, too, alternating with the fire department. Theirs is called "Murder at Midnight," a straightforward dramatic play about a woman named Elsie Carter who is murdered by a con man named Joe Brown. The maid finds the body in the living room as the curtain goes up, and the audience sees the police, detectives, doctors, and other city officials come in to snap pictures and find the clues, of which there are fortunately plenty. This one has a second act, too, in a laboratory where a demonstrator pretends he is analyzing cigarette stubs, bullets, hair, fingerprints, clothing, blood, and all the other souvenirs Joe Brown left behind. Big illuminable replicas of each finding are on the wall above the laboratory, to prevent

the crowd from mowing down the man at the machines.

The police department also permits one to telephone for, and receive, at least theoretically, a policeman. One more inhibition bites the dust.

TOO MANY CHARTS

The manual exhibits are by far the best, and we wished there were more of them. None of the other exhibits in the building was as discouraging as those first few pictorial chart affairs, but there is no doubt that there is more use than need be of the static numerical picturization of city activities. Hardly an exhibit, no matter how lusty its manual phases, dared dispense with the wall chart and graph. Surely this indicates a preoccupation with numbers which may be important from the official standpoint but which certainly must have been responsible for the very first yawn of the very first citizen, a couple of million years ago in the caves. What a citizen wants—at least what the citizens present in the New York City building when we were there wanted—were exhibits which *did* the things the department does. The police department solved a crime. The fire department put out a fire. The civil service department gave intelligence tests, height tests, and physical strength tests. The chief medical examiner had specimens of actual brains which had been punctured by bullets, actual stomachs which had been corroded by poison, actual hearts which had been neatly stabbed. In alcohol, of course, but satisfyingly real.

One of the hospitals is responsible for a gripping movie called "From Hand to Mouth." It began with the Hudson River, confirming our suspicions that it is exceedingly dirty by showing the dirt flowing out of open sewers and into the stream of that beautiful river. Some slum children went swimming, diving into the filth, breathing it into their mouths as they snorted about. The scene moved to a tenement, showed a mother taking her four-year-old to a dirty toilet shared, apparently, by all the families on the floor. There was a cafeteria scene, hands slapping ham on bread, sandwiches going into mouths.

It turned out to be all about dysentery, did not even mention the remedies—personal hygiene, public housing, public markets, sewage treatment plants, hospitals, pure water systems—until the audience had been made logically and emotionally aware of the ways in which the disease was contracted. The WPA made the film with due attention to musical sound effects, artistic camera angles, and the human touch, and the subtitles were not obnoxious. One of the injunctions left with the audience was the necessity of washing the hands at frequent intervals with soap, water, and brush. A little girl was heard complaining to her mother, as we left the little theatre which is at one end of the New York City building, "But I don't have any brush!" Educational is the word.

One of the most interesting failures of the exhibition is the city budget. It is an honorable defeat. Someone had the bright idea of explaining the way public money comes in, and how it goes out, by means of a tree-like wall graph backed by a moving stream of light which follows the money into the coffers and out again. The budget director is portrayed as a big piston which clamps up and down

between the intake and outgo valves. One astonishing omission is the City Council and the Board of Estimate. According to the chart, the Mayor and Budget Director are the only two city officials who have a hand in the allocation of the billion dollars which accomplish city services.

Another trouble with the chart was that the only one who could tell what it was all about—and that after ten minutes deliberation—was a person who was supposed to know more than a little about municipal finance in the first place. The ordinary citizens in the party were simply stymied.

There are other sad failures. The welfare exhibit, for instance, is another one of those pictorial-chart-*cum*-sign affairs. It gives no more indication of the vast drama of public relief than a mimeographed annual report does.

Although it shows commendable modesty on the part of a political figure, it is too bad that our dynamic Mayor's appearance in the show is limited to a gold seal on one of the central pillars, a textual description of the powers of the office, and a huge winking eye, labeled "Eye of the Mayor" behind which are flashed pictorially the duties of the Department of Investigation.

There are plenty of other excellent exhibits—for instance, a room furnished in the style of 1789, for the Museum of the City of New York—and plenty of other unimpressive ones. In order to find out some of the reasons for the latter we approached the information desk, manned by one of the heart-warmingly friendly young officials with which the Fair is filled. We showed him a letter from Harry Sweeny, Jr., Park Director-in-Charge of the building, which invited us to come in and see him. Suppressing an impulse to tell him, in quotes, that we were "friends of Mr. Sweeny," we indicated readiness to take up the invitation.

Just as though we were indeed "friends of Mr. Sweeny," all doors opened. Mr. Sweeny, comfortably lodged in a glass walled room with red venetian blinds and good rugs, told us that the building itself cost the city a million and a quarter dollars, the exhibits and the work of preparing them another $385,000. This, he indicated, was hardly enough to give *every* department such bang-up presentations as those of the police and fire departments. It is costing about $13,000 a month to run the building now that it is in normal operation.

MANY VISITORS

More people come to the New York City building than you think. Mr. Sweeny's guess is one in eight or ten visitors to the fair which is a good round number when you consider all the rival attractions in the Meadow.

We asked him why there was no practical demonstration of proportional representation, the method which has been used since 1937 to elect New York City's council. There is, on the other hand, an ordinary voting machine on which young and old may practice. Mr. Sweeny said it was a matter of letting out contracts, a thing that had to be attended to at the very moment that New York State was about to vote on a constitutional amendment which would have outlawed P. R. in the state. By the time the amendment was voted down, the contracts had been awarded.

City employees, Mr. Sweeny continued confidently, are pretty much against P. R. anyhow.

Mr. Sweeny's boss is Robert Moses, miracle-making park man who is an outspoken opponent of proportional representation.

Before we left, we asked Mr. Sweeny why the park department happened to be in charge of an exhibit which would seem to belong in a department devoted to publicity or public relations. That, he said, was because the exhibit was at the Fair, and when the Fair is over, the whole business is to be converted into a public park.

We left the New York City building—after three hours—buzzing with ideas on how to improve it. Everyone was taken with the police and fire department shows—indeed, balloting among visitors shows both immensely more popular than any of the other exhibits—and all suggested variants on those shows to fit other departments. More push buttons, was the unanimous request, more dramatic plays showing relief clients being helped, sewers being inspected, money coming into the public till.

Whatever you think of those ideas, the best commentary on the New York City building came from a college-age sophisticate, who more or less against her will happened to be along. "Why!" she said, aghast, "I really had a good time!" which is a unique way to come out of a governmental exhibit.

The New York City building is not the only pebble on the Fair's governmental beach. Indeed, it is possible to make oneself quite dizzy with all the governmental angles which can be seen without even stretching a point. For instance, enough governmental units, foreign and domestic, coöperated in the building of the Fair to fill another League of Nations. Again, the physical planning of the Fair has probably afforded a field day to the municipal planning practitioners and theorists. Every single exhibit building in the place doubtless has piquant governmental sidelights. The government of the Fair itself bears interesting resemblances to the city manager plan, what with Mr. Whalen answering to his board of directors, and what with the many municipal-like departments, including police, fire, water, sewage, street cleaning, etc.

A FINE MOTION PICTURE

But to narrow the field a little, there is one other governmental curio at the Fair which deserves special mention. That is a motion picture, "The City," presented three times a day (admission gratis) at the Hall of Science and Education by the American Institute of Planners.

"The City" should be described only in superlatives, not only because it is good but also because it is in itself an attempt to describe the superlative. It isn't hard to identify that superlative city, New York, as the one which is used as the horrible example of what we have done with our rich and teeming civilization. Habitual city-dwellers can be made self-conscious, for the first time, by the picture's satirical and entirely realistic portrayal of people in a crowd, subway kiosks, people eating in a cafeteria, the blank faces of skyscrapers, traffic, city noises.

It is said that the movie was made by means of cameras concealed in

suitcases. Certainly some such camouflage must have been needed to get some of the most poignant and hilarious shots. A crowd crosses a street; a face is briefly seen with an expression of uncomprehending bewilderment. A child scrapes mud in a running gutter; a man dodges automobiles, teetering back and forth in one place as cars bear down on him; a woman stands in a slum doorway and watches a train roar past her children crossing the railroad tracks. So artfully is it put together that no one dreams of looking on the picture as housing or planning propaganda. It is simply the essence of the city's life, but the camera has done it so sardonically, so wryly humorously, that it cannot help being a most effective tract.

There is continuity, too. Morris Carnovsky, gifted Group Theatre actor, speaks the commentary, which is not intrusive. He follows the picture from its idyllic presentation of colonial farm life to the mill and mining town, to the big city, and finally to the city of tomorrow. This last is a return to the idyllic, but it is an artfully planned idyll. Apparently this section of the movie was made in some of the model communities which are springing up all over the country. Nobody is posed. You see babies on lawns, a boy pumping up a bicycle tire, rushing off to join his mates on a picnic, eating his box lunch under a tree, stripping and plopping into a lake. Men go to work on "cloverleaf" roadways, women dump the family's dirty clothes into an electric washer in a community laundry and go outside to join the neighbors on the porch in a game of bridge. Schools, libraries, babies, sunlit factories—they all seem to be taken right from life and have a natural charm that comes only from the most artful wielding of the camera.

And the musical accompaniment! It tells the story almost without the pictures.

"The City" was made by a company of famous names, including Lewis Mumford and Pare Lorentz, the latter responsible for last year's federal documentary film "The River."

Decidedly, the World of Tomorrow is worth seeing.

"I Am the Law!"

By CLAUDE S. PRAY and GEORGE DOBRY

Two "innocents abroad" run afoul of "the law" in a memorable trip across the broad waters of the Hudson to the land of Hague.

THIS happened in Jersey City.

The editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW sent us, Claude Pray and George Dobry, to find out about a rumor that business men were getting ready to kick over the Frank Hague traces.

Ever since last February when "Boss" Hague laid down a $47.54 tax rate—the highest in the city's history and the highest for a city of its size in the nation—stories had been current in New York newspaper offices that smaller shopkeepers in Jersey City were in almost open rebellion over the severe property rates. For some time the course of industry has been away from Jersey City, and the merchants, faced with declining receipts and skyrocketing taxes, were said to feel that either taxes must be cut or they must get out of business.

Our task was simple. By all normal standards it was innocent, too. Only two questions were asked. "What do you think of Mayor Hague?" "What do you, as a taxpayer, get back in return for the huge taxes you pay?"

We quizzed people in scattered parts of the city. Replies in all but a few instances were cautious. They were prefaced with, "Please don't print my name."

We decided then that opinion of an entire business block would have more significance than isolated random inquiries. So we took a block on Newark Avenue just east of Journal Square, notorious for its spectacular Hague political pageants. Into one store after another we went.

There we made our mistake. It was the mistake of anyone who would solicit anti-Hague information in Jersey City.

The proprietor of the Hudson Boulevard Fur Company was apparently a 100 per cent Hague man. "The Mayor? Yes sir, a hundred per cent for him. He's my mayor and I'm a hundred per cent for him. God bless him."

Two minutes afterward a Jersey City policeman was doing the questioning.

"You fellows have permits?" he demanded.

"Permits for what?"

The cop explained that to do canvassing or soliciting of any sort in Jersey City one must have police permits.

"We're selling nothing," we objected. "We're simply asking people what they think of Mayor Hague. Is there any city ordinance against that?"

"It's the same thing," the cop said, dismissingly. "Where you fellows from?"

"New York."

"How long you been going around bothering people here this way?"

We felt our blood pressure rise slightly.

"We're not bothering anyone. All we're doing is asking businessmen what they think of Hague. If they want to answer, all right. If they don't, we thank them and leave."

The policeman stroked his night stick, thought for a moment. Then he abruptly announced, "You fellows come with me. I'm going to report you to the station. If they say go ahead, O.K. I've got orders, though, to pick up all persons I find canvassing without permits."

As the three of us passed the Fur Company, "God-Bless-the-Mayor" stood in the doorway with an approving grin on his face.

The cop took us into the shoeshop at the head of the street. There he went to a telephone in the rear and asked for a mysterious "No. 7" at headquarters. His voice was indistinct for the first few moments, then it began to rise sharply.

"They say they're representing the National Muni 'ci' pal League. Muni-'ci' pal. Muni 'ci' pal. M-u-n-i-c-i-p-a-l," he shouted. "That's right, municipal, and they are going around asking people what they think of the Mayor."

"YOU'RE UNDER ARREST"

The cop returned after several minutes. He said he would have to "bring us in."

Down the street from the shoeshop a line of taxis stood in front of the Journal Square bus station. Opening the door of the nearest one, the cop said nonchalantly, "Drive us to the station, Frank."

Frank obliged. Frank probably didn't like the idea of converting his meal ticket into a temporary patrol wagon, but he had no choice.

The lieutenant at headquarters was polite.

"I want you to understand the reason for all this," he said. "We have no objections to your asking questions here about the Mayor. We're glad to have you do it. It's just that we want to know who you are and where we could find you should anything happen later in any store you visited."

PROTECTION GUARANTEED

The lieutenant expanded this point. "Thieves, you know, often pose as canvassers when they 'case' a store. While they are talking to clerks they watch to see where the money is and what windows look the easiest to force. Then they come back and rob.

"To help stop this, we have ordered our men to bring to the station for registration all persons found canvassing without proper permits. We realize you are not selling. Moreover, there is no law here forbidding you to talk to people about Mr. Hague. It's just this, and this only. We want you to get permits so that we may know who you are. We also want to save you from being brought in here by the police every half hour or less."

The lieutenant then asked for our credentials—a letter of introduction from Howard P. Jones, executive director of the National Municipal League. The permits would be issued as soon as he had checked the letter's authenticity, he told us. Then he asked us to leave the room while he made the check.

Just before the door closed we heard another call put through to "No. 7."

When the desk lieutenant rejoined us fifteen minutes later his face had a serious cast.

"The credentials seem to be O.K.,"

he said. "Go downstairs to the registry office and they'll fix you up."

As he turned to go, one of us asked him if he had called the office of the League. The lieutenant's somber look left him for a moment. "No," he said, smiling lightly, "I didn't call *your* office. We have our own little way of checking up."

The sign on the door downstairs read "Criminal Registrar." The room was full of men. One or two of them were puttering around a desk. The rest were grouped around watching the proceedings. They punctuated the registrar's statements with loud roars.

The officer in charge stormed. "I don't care who sent you down! I won't issue a permit without the chief's personal O.K. You can argue until you're stiff, but it won't do you a damned bit of good!"

This blustery treatment caught us off-guard.

For a moment anger got the better of us. Heatedly we asked for an explanation of the whole business.

More laughs followed this request. Suddenly we realized how ridiculous we really were asking permission to investigate Mayor Hague's position in Jersey City—seeking this authority from men whose sworn duty is to see that nothing but 100 per cent "Hagueism" ever reaches the people of Jersey City!

We joined in the laughter. The whole thing was really funny.

"O.K. Where next?"

"Go up to floor 2M, and talk to the chief. He wants to see you anyway."

Up to floor 2M we went. This floor is a special number built for the exclusive use of Chief Harry W. Walsh. The elevator was crowded with burly men in civilian clothes. The chief's anteroom was even more crowded. An old colored man who was sweeping up appeared to be the only one with anything at all to do.

Chief Walsh was short and sprucely dressed in an Oxford grey business suit. He had apparently been cut to the quick by the affair, petty as it was.

AND STILL NO PERMITS

"You fellows are always doing tricks like this," he said. "You come in here and do as you please. You never let us know anything. Then when you get in trouble you want us to be lenient with you. The law, after all, was made to protect you fellows."

After listening to a long recital of the danger that lay in disregarding police regulations, we interrupted the chief to ask for our permits.

"The permits," he said, "will be sent to you, but only after we have made a thorough check on you and this National Municipal League you claim you represent. If we find you are what you say you are, you will get the permits. You will have to quit canvassing in Jersey City though until we give them to you."

As we turned to the door, the chief halted us. "Boys," he said, "Boys, remember this. Whatever you write, even if its a kick in the back, it will be a plug for our Mayor. He lives on publicity."

We never received any permits.

To tell the truth, we never expected to receive any permits.

A few days later we discussed the affair with a Jersey City acquaintance.

(Continued on Page 591)

A Village Portrait

By MORLEY BRAND

Description of community and political life in the village of East Stoneham, Maine, where people build their own homes and make their own laws and generally "stand on their own feet."

ABOUT half way between Paris and Oxford, twenty miles from Norway and over a hill or two from Denmark, is the village of East Stoneham. It has a couple of hundred inhabitants—113 voters—who talk like Englishmen with Alabama accents, slowly and rather sweetly, lingering on the vowels which they pronounce with much greater variety of tone and value than is customary in most parts of the United States. They carry themselves with a fine dignity and the ease of self-respecting men. The women are plain and the men have flaming complexions from long exposure to the weather, for most of them go into the woods in winter to cut logs for their little sawmill, and the Maine winters are severe.

"The folks from the city don't think we out here in the wilderness are human," said old Ed Allen, the town clerk. "Well, maybe we're not. It's hard enough to stay alive, let alone be civilized. You don't find the people around here divided into farmers and carpenters and bricklayers. We're all jacks of all trades. We build our own houses, eat from our own gardens, dig our own ditches, and do what needs to be done. There's a good deal of coöperation, of course, but we're all pretty independent. We're used to standing on our own feet.

"When my grandfather came here in 1820 there were only three other families in the whole neighborhood. They were scattered around, too. People didn't huddle together so much then. They tell of one man at the time who lived over where Paris is now: he saw smoke rising up from over in East Waterford, two towns away, and said, 'Now who's that settling down right under my nose?' "

Stoneham was incorporated on January 31, 1834. The divisions in Maine are rather like very small counties, with markers on the borders, "Town Line." These county-ettes have villages in them, designated by "East Stoneham," "West Stoneham," etc., and are irregular in shape. Stoneham is a town, which means that it elects its own officers.

The state owns several thousand acres of forest in Stoneham, which it bought from the owners of the land, and since the state does not have to pay property tax, the burden on the Stoneham taxpayers is much higher than in many of the other towns. The present tax rate is forty-two dollars out of $1,000. It has been as high as forty-six dollars, Ed Allen said.

"What about the poor?" I asked. "Does the town have any wards?"

"Paupers?" said Ed. "No, right now there aren't any. We had two, a while back, but there aren't any now. Good thing, too. Town has to pay five dollars a week for their board, and in a place this small that amounts up pretty high in a year."

"I should think it would," I agreed. "Does the town have a debt, and is there a legal debt limit?"

"Debt limit? I never heard of one. No, we haven't been in debt for years and years. We keep our finances balanced. Not like Roosevelt. We don't believe you can get ahead on borrowed money! As a matter of fact, we had quite a little surplus, over in the bank at Norway, but the thing went broke and we lost it all. The people that were managing the bank made enough profit to buy it and run it as their own, though."

The nearest bank, hospital, and fire department are at Norway. If a house catches fire it burns. Of course the neighbors try to help, but there isn't much they can do. The health situation is not quite so bad, as there is a county nurse who travels about from town to town. She is paid by the state, but East Stoneham contributes fifteen dollars a year to her salary.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS

The town officers are three assessors, three overseers of the poor, and three selectmen (accent on the first syllable!) who are all the same three men. The first selectman gets ninety dollars a year and the other two fifty. (When I asked Ed the difference in their duties, he said the head man is the one who does the work.) There are also a road commissioner, a constable (whose duty is to post notices of meetings), a town treasurer, and a town clerk. The school superintendent is elected from five towns. The East Stoneham school has eight grades, and the town pays the tuition of any students who go to the other towns to high school, and furnishes them with transportation. Sometimes there is only a single student rattling around in the high school bus.

The United Lovell Telephone Company, a combination of the old Farmers' Line and the New England Lines, serves East Stoneham from Fryeburg, twenty miles away. The phones are the kind with a crank. The Central Maine Power Company, also in Fryeburg, is Stoneham's source of electricity. Roads are built and kept up one-third by the town and two-thirds by the state, except for one fifty-fifty road.

There is one church, the Congregational. Every other Thursday in summer, and once in Christmas vacation, and at other special times, the entire town gathers for a bean supper at the church. Everyone brings something. Beans, brown bread, pickles, cake, pie, and coffee—the menu is traditional. The men sit, shy and shining, against the wall in a row, and the women bustle around setting the tables. There are two ministers, Mr. Bull and Mr. Swank, who travel around serving about half a dozen towns. In the height of the season, they each have to eat usually three and sometimes four bean suppers a week.

Most of the social gatherings, aside from the church suppers, are held in the Grange Hall. The annual fair is held at North Waterford and is known as the World's Fair. Waterford, Stoneham, and Albany take part, and there are usually some Norway exhibits.

Mrs. McKeen is the post office. In her back parlor, which has a separate side entrance, is an olive green steel façade with a little sliding window and a slot below for letters. She officiates behind the window. Sometimes when a package is big, she has quite a time pushing it through the

opening. It would be simpler to step around the façade, which is only about six feet wide, but that probably wouldn't be so official.

KEEPING THE TOWN RECORDS

If there ever was a town charter, it isn't in the records now. Ed Allen never heard of there being one. He has records of births and deaths, and in the old record books, which he keeps in a safe out on his side porch—the book was icy with the Christmas cold when he brought it in to show me—are ancient records of intentions to marry. Engaged couples always had to file their intentions with the clerk, and he wrote them in the book.

In the midst of the intentions are three pages describing the identifications of all the East Stoneham sheep. In the old days they put fences around their gardens and not around the stock. The animals pastured all together in a common field, so they had to be distinguished by different cuttings and clippings of the ears. Every farmer's combination of ear-trimmings was described. Some of the ancient handwriting was like fine engraving. Some of it was terrible.

Most of the Stonehamites take the Norway paper, *The Advertiser*. Everyone over twenty-one years old who has lived there six months can vote. The government of the town is very casual.

"We get along all right," says Ed.

One of the town's large expenses is snow-shovelling in winter. It owns a tractor and a snowplow and a few shovels, which are kept at the Grange Hall, but that's about all the town property there is.

Here is a part of the report of the Superintendent of Schools for 1937:

> Some repairs have been made on the interior of the schoolhouse at East Stoneham and the roof patched, yet the rain comes through in a stream. The conditions downstairs during a rain are intolerable, for the water, running through the toilets, covers the entry floor and seeps into the primary room. The building has been made unsafe by cutting it up so for windows and the fact is—it is not suitable for a building where little children must be brought together. It is a needless waste to patch it up for sooner or later you will have to build a new schoolhouse with a suitable playground.
>
> Of course, there is the great problem of paying for it but should the present building collapse, or should a child get seriously injured on the playground, the town would be liable for damages which would make a good payment on the building.
>
> Had the education bill been passed by the last legislature, some state aid might have been obtained toward the cost of a new building, but it wasn't and there is no money to be had from that source. It is doubtful if there will be in the future, for the state is so heavily in debt that appropriations will be heavily cut and the schools will be the first to receive less.
>
> So, my good friends, this matter of a decent place for your children is squarely up to you and I urge you to give it your careful consideration; you cannot afford to continue taking chances with the health and safety of your children. The recommended appropriations are based on a thirty-four-week year allowing for an increase in teachers' salaries because of the shortage of teachers in the state and also allowing for tuition for the present eighth-grade in high school next year.

Recommended Appropriations

Teachers, 3 positions, 34 wks.	$1,632
Fuel	50
Janitors	80
Conveyance	360
Textbooks, including new maps	50
Supplies	70
	$2,242

The salary suggested for the three teachers breaks down into $544 a year each.

TOWN POLITICS

The town was Democratic for three elections, but in the last one it made a big swing in the other direction and had a Republican plurality of seven. The town meeting to elect officers is held on the first Monday of every March. If you ask the Stonehamites what goes on at the meetings, they all say the same thing, "Some business and a lot of noise."

There isn't much more to tell about Stoneham. They don't ship out much lumber from their little sawmill; most of it is used for building right there in town. The people are all pretty poor, but they're quietly and philosophically cheerful about it.

Ed Allen was rather stranded when I climbed up his long hill through the snow to see him. He can't afford a car, of course, and his only horse had fallen through the barn floor only a few days before and died. If Ed doesn't fall through the floor of his porch some day I'll be surprised. How it manages to hold up his steel safe I can't understand. The house has been there since 1820, but when you look at it your surprise is that it's been there only a hundred-odd years.

One of his two cows had just died, too. He buried it and the horse up on the hill. He's a pretty old man to be digging down through the snow to bury such big carcasses, but he never complains. He has no telephone and the nearest house is half a mile away. His wife has some kind of hip disease. The Stonehamites worry about the Allens sometimes, off there alone. Not for long, though, because worrying doesn't get you anywhere, and they are essentially practical people.

They have to be.

"I AM THE LAW!"

(Continued from Page 587)

"What," we asked him, "could Hague have done to us if we had gone ahead with our canvassing? Surely there is no legal way the police can forbid persons asking questions of one another!"

The friend laughed.

"I take it," he said, "that neither of you has heard of an illustrious public servant who on several occasions has declared: "The law? I am the law in Jersey City."

Youth Takes a Fling at Politics

By JAMES P. HUGHES, *Palmyra, New Jersey, High School*

High school pupils in Palmyra investigate local government at first hand; attend borough council meetings, organize as political parties, and elect their own public officials to serve for a day.

YOUNG people studying government at the Palmyra, New Jersey, High School have been "learning by doing." Not only did they participate in "National Youth Week," at which time some of the pupils, elected by their fellows, became mayor, councilman, etc., for a day, but frequent attendance at regular borough council meetings has brought home to them the problems faced by public officials.

The first of these meetings with the borough council was held in October 1938, when twelve students, accompanied by their instructor in government, met at the fire engine house to attend its regular monthly meeting.

Permission for the group's attendance had been obtained in advance so that when the meeting opened Mayor John F. Ward gave the students his official greeting, welcomed them to that and to every regular meeting thereafter, and then spent fifteen minutes explaining the borough council system of government and how it differs from the city mayor and council plan. From this point on the meeting was conducted the usual way. The pupils listened attentively and took extensive notes.

The next day all of these pupils made reports in class for the benefit of the students who had not attended. They stated that they had enjoyed the meeting and several asked to attend another.

The experiment proved to be such a success that the instructor was encouraged to make the attendance of at least one borough council meeting a requirement of all students in government classes. As a result a group of pupils has attended every council meeting since, including the April meeting which was held during Easter vacation.

The aims of this plan were: (a) to give pupils some practical application of the methods, principles, and theories of local government; (b) to bring future citizens into actual contact with the borough officers and the varied problems which they must solve; (c) to develop a greater interest in community affairs; (d) to impress upon these young citizens the importance of their intelligent participation in our democratic form of government; (e) to instill greater loyalty to American principles and ideals; (f) to prepare the pupils for the National Youth project of taking over all borough and township positions in Palmyra, Riverton, and Cinnaminson Township held on May 13th.

The results of this council attendance plan and the activities growing out of it have proved very gratifying. Each month some borough officer has given a fifteen- or twenty-minute talk to the pupils on the work of his department and some of the problems that he has to face, with suggestions as to how the work might be improved.

The students have not only derived great benefit from the meetings, but their interest and appreciation have encouraged local officials to strive to do a better job than previously.

As a climax to the attendance at council meetings, an "Information Please" program was staged by the officials and pupils at the May meeting of the council. The boys and girls brought in questions on local government which borough officials answered.

TWO-PARTY GOVERNMENT

Great interest and enthusiasm has been shown by the Palmyra High School students in the "Youth Week Borough Government" plan. The two classes in American government served as political parties, substituting the names of "American Youth party" and "The United party" for the Democratic and Republican parties. These names were selected by the students from a list which they had formulated.

Each party drew up a platform, nominated its candidates for mayor and six councilmen for each of the two adjoining towns of Palmyra and Riverton, and for three committeemen for Cinnaminson Township.

Each class held its own primary election and then staged a general election in which the entire student body of the high school participated.

This Youth Week project aimed to instruct all the high school students in such principles of good government as the short ballot, the study of party platforms and characters of candidates, the split ticket, the proper way to conduct a campaign and election, the needlessness of mud-slinging, the holding of candidates to their campaign promises and party platform planks, the duty of every official to work for the good of the whole community regardless of political party affiliation should a coalition council be elected through split ticket voting.

ELECTION ACTIVITIES

A week of preparation for the election was spent in educating the voters as to party platforms and candidates. These preliminaries consisted of the following activities:

Poster Day—Posters were prepared stating platforms and naming candidates of each party, also campaign slogans and caricatures of candidates.

Announcements — Announcements were made in all home rooms giving qualifications of various candidates and the offices they hoped to occupy.

Assembly Program—All candidates were introduced from the stage to the student body by their campaign managers. Platforms were stated and a few remarks made by mayoralty candidates.

Soap Box Speeches—Each party brought a strong wooden box to school and a committee on speeches for each party talked up their candidates.

Press Conference—Through the cooperation and interest of the *Camden Courier, Palmyra Twin Borough Advertiser, The Palmyra News, The New Era,* and the school paper, *The Palmyrian,* a press conference was held in which statements were made by the various candidates.

Election Board—This consisted of all home room presidents who took charge of voting in the home rooms and served as tellers, counting eight hundred votes.

The Ballot—Drawn up by the ballot committee made up of members of both political parties. At the top of the ballot were the names of the parties with the lists of candidates directly below. Attached to each ballot was a copy of the two party platforms.

After the results of the election were announced, the newly elected pupil mayor and council of the two boroughs of Palmyra and Riverton and committeemen of Cinnaminson Township met and appointed pupils to fourteen official positions.

The pupils served in the following offices: *clerk, treasurer and collector, assessor,* overseer of the poor, *solicitor,* health officer, *school nurse,* road supervisor, *fire chief,* chief of police, school supervisor, building inspector, director of welfare, justice of the peace, *secretary.* The offices in italics require special ability so pupils who excelled in stenography, bookkeeping, commercial law, pre-nursing course, and volunteer firemen were appointed to those positions.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS FOR A DAY

After appointments were made and accepted the new officers arranged to visit the borough officials whose positions they would fill and get first-hand information from them as to their duties, responsibilities, and accomplishments, so each could give a short report on the work of his department at the council meeting and to the Council on Youth Week Government Day.

A regular organization and business meeting of the council was conducted and many interesting local problems discussed.

After the council meetings were over the student officials were taken on a tour of inspection by regular borough officers. The water company, sewage disposal plant, police station and lockup, and the fire house were visited.

As a result of the interest shown by the entire student body in this phase of Youth Week and the contacts and information gained by the pupil officials, a real lesson in the operation of democratic government has been learned. And such excellent co-operation of pupils and borough personnel as has been demonstrated in the Palmyra experiment is of benefit to any American community.

News in Brief

Councilman Stephen W. Cunningham of **Los Angeles** has recently announced that the University of California at Los Angeles will shortly undertake an intensive survey designed to establish boundaries for a proposed city-county greater metropolitan district of Los Angeles and to determine the proper form of government for such a district.

Carey, Ohio, will vote on adoption of the manager plan on August 8th.

Scottsbluff, Nebraska, will vote on September 5th on a proposal to place the town under the manager form of government.

The **Haverhill, Massachusetts,** Taxpayers' Association has voted in favor of the manager plan and is arranging, through the organization of a charter commission made up of representative citizens, to bring the plan before the voters on next fall's ballot.

The committee appointed by Mayor Arthur E. Poole of **Taunton, Massachusetts,** to investigate the city's charter and study other forms of government, recently held its organization meeting.

The **Linden, New Jersey,** Civic League has set as its goal the elimination of politics in Linden through the installation of a city manager form of government.

Contributors in Review

A TALL, attractive young woman lurks behind the masculine appellation, **Morley Brand** (*A Village Portrait*). Miss Brand, who hails from Oregon via the Columbia School of Journalism, class of '39, was visiting in Maine at Christmas time, and "was struck by the character of the town and its inhabitants. They cried to be written about so I wrote about them. That's all." Oberlin College gave her the Bachelor's degree in 1938.

BESIDES teaching American government, sociology, citizenship, and social science in Palmyra High School, Palmyra, New Jersey, **James P. Hughes** (*Youth Takes a Fling at Politics*) has been (extra-curricularly) high school boxing instructor for six years, and he claims an interest in all sports, especially tennis, football, and swimming. Antecedent for Mr. Hughes' athletic standing is the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, which he attended for a time before going to Bucknell University. Mr. Hughes is chairman of the Americanization and Citizenship Committee in Burlington County, New Jersey, and a consultant of the Mayor of Palmyra on juvenile delinquency cases.

THE two whom Hague chased out (*"I am the Law"*) are **Claude Pray** and **George Dobry**, at present an army officer and a member of the advertising staff of a church publishing company, respectively. Both were members of the class of 1939 at Columbia University's Graduate School of Journalism and both have journalistic careers behind and ahead of them. Mr. Pray worked his way through Ripon College, Wisconsin, by being a produce manager in a grocery chain; Mr. Dobry earned his course at the University of Nebraska by writing stories "about a new poultry mash, the condition of wheat in western Nebraska, and how to get your hogs up to two hundred pounds when prices were best" for *The Nebraska Farmer*. The military job and the advertising job, say Messrs. Pray and Dobry, are stop-gaps.

A NATIVE New Yorker, **Miriam Roher** (*A Citizen in the World of Tomorrow*) discovered, while earning her M.A. in political science at Northwestern University, that it might be the New Yorkers rather than the mid-westerners who had an accent. After Northwestern (out of Barnard) Miss Roher helped the New York State Commission for the Revision of the Tax Laws put out a book on state and local government in New York and a pamphlet on tax limitation. Now she is with the National Municipal League, her duties loosely grouped under the titles "publications editor" and "contributing editor to the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW."

THE word "housing" appears in the title of every one of the numerous writings and activities of **Beatrice Greenfield Rosahn** (*Public Housing Creates a New Profession*). She wears the jewel of consistency even in her spare time, when she "keeps house in New Britain, Connecticut." Mrs. Rosahn is one of the pioneers in housing management as a profession, particularly for women, and has written extensively on the subject. She is a member of the housing management committee of the New York Citizens Housing Council.

(Continued on Page 600)

The Riddle of the Mural

By GEORGE WOODWARD, *State Senator, Pennsylvania*

A Philadelphia doctor, sponsor of the bill providing city management with proportional representation for Philadelphia, muses on statesmen and politicians in general and on the merit system in particular.

OVER the speaker of the [Pennsylvania] House hangs or adheres Edwin A. Abbey's great mural painting of Pennsylvania worthies, some sitting on a front bench of the temple of fame, some standing in the "middle distance," and some conspicuous in the foreground. There is not a Cameron or a Quay or a Penrose or a Guffey. Pennsylvania politicians seemingly have writ their names in water. The sole survivor of our political complex in the mural is Thaddeus Stevens. Buchanan like Hoover was a precursor of war in one case and of debacle in the other. There have been famous clergymen, famous doctors of medicine, famous lawyers, famous journalists, famous artists, and famous women in Pennsylvania, but not famous statesmen. Mr. Abbey himself was a Pennsylvanian. Too many of our notables have migrated to the lights of New York or the tax refuge of Delaware and visit us only when they need a Pennsylvania dentist.

What is the answer to the riddle posed by the mural of our temple of fame? We can answer that politics has never risen to the dignity of a profession. We can answer that Pennsylvania has always been so prosperous that questions of government have never pinched. We can answer that life was too easy in our wealthy commonwealth. We might even answer that our breed of politicians was so smart that they fooled the easy-going people all the time. There is no doubt that our office-holders have preferred immediate advantage to future fame. They never thought that Mr. Abbey would come along with his painting and leave them out of the picture.

Our politicians did achieve some statuary. In the rotunda of the capitol are four big niches. In each niche is the monumental figure of a politician, three in black bronze and one in white marble. Fate is fond of irony. In this case she has awarded to the blackest politician the whitest statute. The big point is that if you were asked to name the four men who got on in the niches you just couldn't do it. The only man probably who knows is the night watchman who sits on a marble bench and reads the inscriptions surrounding the dome or holds converse with the plaster angels who crown the marble stairs. It does seem too bad that the appropriation ran low when the architect came to the angels and had to put them in plaster. . . .

I have to admit that Pennsylvania's two most famous men were not natives of Pennsylvania. They were Benjamin Franklin and Albert Gallatin. All this political liability goes for Philadelphia also. We have so many kinds of debt floating and anchored that we have given up anything so sordid, so perfunctory as a budget. We live comfortably, untroubled by thoughts of our future. We feel sure that some subdivision of social security will care for us. . . .

Having made this unpleasant diagnosis of Pennsylvania politics, the next question naturally is the treatment. What master bills can we enact into resolutions or acts of assembly that will elevate our politics into statesmanship and incidentally ourselves into the temple of fame? We all know the two dragons of politics that cramp our style as statesmen. They are waste and patronage. Like all devils they wear pleasant, plausible faces. Waste is an agreeable vice. From spending $1,800,000 on aeronautics to paying per diem men, women, and boys for not working on Thursdays to and including Sundays is an unusual and usual form of waste.

Patronage is more subtle. I have a waiter friend who has been a faithful Republican for years. He now believes he ought to be in the Department of Finance either as a messenger or as a filing clerk. He has the right temperament for a perfect messenger but can adapt himself to the duties of a filing clerk. If I have to devote myself to pleading for my political friend, if I have to request and re-request the secretary of revenue, the personnel secretary, the county chairman, and one or two secretaries of the Governor to concentrate on this appointment, is it any wonder that I never become a statesman? Is it any wonder that the secretary of revenue, the personnel secretary, the county chairman, and the secretaries of the Governor suffer likewise from pestilence and arrested development and no one emerges into statesmanship, not even the discontented waiter?

There you are. "To the victor belongs the spoils" just spoils all of us and we shall never get into the picture over the speaker's desk or have a statue anywhere on Capitol Hill. We now have piecemeal samples of the merit system: liquor, assistance and unemployment insurance, 15,000 employees, and we don't seem to love the samples. When President Garfield was shot by a disappointed office seeker, civil service sprang into life. New York State at once enacted a merit system and has kept it ever since. The Keystone State liked a one-party government buttressed by patronage. That such a buttress is sure fire politics is a fallacy. . . . After the votes were counted and Governor James was elected by a majority of 280,000 one of the Democratic candidates confided to me that "jobs did not win an election."

For every reason then, ideal and realistic, why not be intelligent and enact a statewide civil service bill into law? Such a bill has been introduced by Senator Geltz. It is the result of careful drafting by civil service associations and deserves the name of model bill. Why not wipe out all the samples and put nearly everybody except the Governor and his elected ticket on merit? Why not put my waiter friend on merit? Why not give me a breathing spell so I can find time to be a statesman and either get into the picture or acquire one of those modest niches high up in our dome which fortunately are still vacant?

From *Pennsylvania Legislator* (published every so often by Senator Woodward), April 1939.

Odds and Ends from Here and There

GOVERNMENT is not a plaything for politicians, a necessary evil for taxpayers, a social experiment for crackpots and reformers, a policeman for special privilege, or a Santa Claus for the shiftless. It is a vast public corporation in which we all have a stake and it will not function efficiently or justly or even honestly until we regard it as such and apply sound business principles and business practices to it. ALLEN H. SEED, JR., Executive Vice-President, Minneapolis Civic Council.

EVERY cause that has ever succeeded has done so because it has had leaders who spoke with conviction and who were bold enough to persist in the face of what sometimes seemed overwhelming odds. Their denial of the possibility of defeat turned their convictions into widely accepted principles. LOUIS K. COMSTOCK, President, The Merchants' Association of New York.

THE failure of the states to deal adequately with urban problems is to be found in the constitution of state legislatures in which the cities are invariably under-represented. State constitutions and reapportionments almost without exception favor the country districts over the cities. We have all of us seen the fate of legislation absolutely vital to our communities determined by a chairman of a committee of the legislature who is not a resident of our community, who has no knowledge of, no interest in, no concern for our problems. C. D. SCULLY, Mayor of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

THE American politician is as modern as today's newspaper, yet he is older than the Democracy of Pericles. He goes back to the earliest governments of primitive man. For there came a time when even primitive man could not rule by force alone; he had to use suasion too, and when you have suasion, you have the politician. J. T. SALTER, in "The Pattern of Politics: The Politician", *Journal of Politics,* May 1939.

IT SHOULD be as convenient for Mr. Citizen to transact his public business with the city as to buy a postage stamp or to cash his check at the neighborhood bank. In other words, the larger cities must decentralize the administration of the day-to-day activities to the neighborhoods to gain the mutual benefits that would flow from these intimate contacts and yet retain full advantages of large-scale operations by uniformity of regulations and coördinated control. Editorial, *Public Management,* April 1939.

IN A democracy truly representative government rests with the people. With adequate public reporting the citizenship can evaluate the relative merits or demerits of the many decisions of policy made by their representatives. T. J. HARRELL, Mayor of Fort Worth, Texas, in Annual Report for year ending September 30, 1938.

MARION County officials (Indianapolis) were embarrassed at having to testify in a court of law that they considered impossible a proposed sale of tax-delinquent property because of the inaccuracy of county records.

Circuit Judge Earl Cox, before whom such testimony was offered, declared, "The court is in the impossible position of attempting to order what he knows is the law and what he knows is a physical impossibility. . . . There has to be a rejuvenation of the tax collection and bookkeeping systems of the county." He postponed the case and advised officials to do what they could to straighten out the mess in the interim. *Editorial Research Reports.*

JOHN K. CITIZEN-AND-TAXPAYER is coming into his own at last in this town [*Willows, California*].

James Boyd, chairman of the High School Board of Trustees, announced that the board had decided to call the new athletic grounds "Taxpayers Field."

"Taxpayers have an investment of $13,000 in this field and it's time they got some sort of recognition," he said. Christian Science Monitor, June 24, 1939.

MISS BERTHA DOTY, town clerk and tax collector, Rayne, Louisiana, (population 3,710) has just completed her fifteenth year in office. During this period all taxes have been collected except $3.18 and three pieces of property have been adjudicated to the town for this amount. For the past thirteen years the town has operated on a cash basis without borrowing or anticipating tax collections; yet many improvements have been constructed. The tax rate of fourteen mills is two mills lower than in 1924 when Miss Doty took office. *Municipal Finance News Letter,* June 16, 1939.

MAYOR T. J. McINTYRE [*Centerville, Iowa*] *wants more money and more work. He inserted the following ad in the local paper: "Mayor wants work, available after 10 o'clock in the morning. Seeks means of livelihood."*

Recently the City Council cut the Mayor's salary from $1,200 a year to $360. The Mayor retaliated by cutting his hours. Office hours now are 9 A. M. to 10 A. M. Christian Science Monitor, June 24, 1939.

Kentucky County Debt Act Sustained

EARLY in 1938 the General Assembly of Kentucky passed legislation strengthening the county budget act and providing machinery whereby the state local finance officer (the commissioner of revenue or his appointee), with the collaboration and approval of an ex officio county debt commission, might directly assist counties in planning their long-term financing or refinancing programs.

Pursuant to this legislation, the local finance officer assisted certain counties in negotiating funding plans for the handling of certain judgments and other indebtedness; and, incident to approval of these plans, certain taxpayers and local officials attacked the constitutionality of the statute. The principal objections, as stated by the court in its opinion, were formulated in the following questions.

1. Does the 2 per cent limitation in section 158 apply where a proposed bond issue is to fund a debt which is in the form of a judgment, and which judgment has never been appealed, and where the appeal from such judgment is now barred by the statutes of limitation?

2. Is the act unconstitutional because it forbids the county to incur an indebtedness in excess of one half of one per cent of the taxable property without the approval of the County Debt Commission, when section 158 permits a county to incur an indebtedness not exceeding 2 per cent of its taxable property?

3. Has the legislature usurped the powers of the fiscal court and thereby contravened section 144 of the constitution?

4. Is the notice to the county judge of the hearing sufficient notice to the taxpayers of the county?

5. Does the act give the County Debt Commission judicial powers when it allows it to pass upon the validity of bond issues, and in providing its findings of fact shall be final if supported by any substantial evidence, and in providing, where there is no appeal, the decision of the commission shall be res adjudicata?

Although the Circuit Court which originally tried the case had found the statute completely unconstitutional and invalid, the Court of Appeals, the supreme court of Kentucky, reversed the Circuit Court on every count, and held that the statute was entirely constitutional in all of these several respects. It is gratifying to friends of good government that the court incidentally showed clearly its approval of the admirable policy of state technical assistance to localities involved in the legislation. In connection with this case the entire court sat, and the opinion by Judge Sims was unanimously approved.

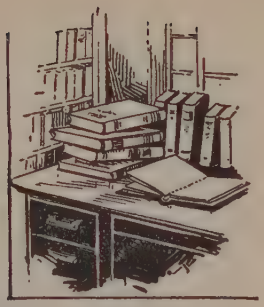
JAMES W. MARTIN
University of Kentucky

CONTRIBUTORS IN REVIEW

(Continued from Page 595)

ONE of those professors who "took over" the government after 1933 was **Leonard D. White** (*Training for Public Service*: *University of Chicago*) who served as a member of the United States Civil Service Commission and of the Central Statistical Board from 1934 to 1937. Professor White belongs to a long list of organizations in the field of political science and has written a long list of books and articles in the same field, including the famed *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration.* He was born in 1891 in Acton, Massachusetts, and reached the University of Chicago by way of Dartmouth, Clark University, and Harvard.

Recent Books Reviewed



EDITED BY ELSIE S. PARKER

Politics and Public Service. By Leonard D. White and T. V. Smith. New York City, Harper & Brothers, 1939. xii, 361 pp. $3.00.

This book is recommended as required reading for all public officials, elected or appointed, for reformers, for students of government, and for the millions of just plain voters who ought to know of the relationship of politics to public service, but who seldom do.

With amazing practicality and refreshing idealism, Leonard D. White, former United States Civil Service Commissioner and famous exponent of the merit system, and T. V. Smith, college professor turned Congressman, have pooled their practical experience.

They did what would-be authors always want to do but don't—stole away to the solitude of a Wisconsin lake—and there debated matters in the presence of a stenographer. Then they did some private thinking and writing, coming together at last to complete the job.

While they agree that patronage should be used for the appointment of policy-forming officials, and stop right there, they also agree that the vast army of public servants who hold their jobs on the basis of their skills must never be free from the necessity of letting the so-called politicians chart the course of government, lest we fall into the hands of an uncontrollable bureaucracy.

But the book is much more than even its subtitle, "A Discussion of the Civic Art in America," might indicate. It is packed with evidence and facts. It is temperate in viewpoint but it avoids no issues. It is quick, interesting, fascinating reading.

While it is difficult to escape the impression that an enlightened understanding and acceptance of the principles set forth so clearly here would go far toward curing many of our governmental ills and thus safeguard democracy, it is also difficult to escape the realization that we are listening to a remarkably *enlightened* politician and a remarkably *enlightened* administrative expert.

Baker Brownell is supervising editor of the book, which is one of a series designed to relate the problems of our modern social and economic life to the specific problems of the professions.

A. W.

Tax Exemptions. By James W. Martin et al. New York City, Tax Policy League, 1939. vii, 237 pp. $3.00.

This interesting collection of fifteen papers read at the annual meeting of the Tax Policy League in Detroit, December 28-30, 1938, covers somewhat unevenly, as such symposia are bound to do, a very broad field. One point in this broad field is at the present moment the subject of intensive public debate—the President's proposal to do away, so far as future issues are concerned, with the exemptions

long enjoyed by governmental securities and salaries from taxation. Four of the fifteen papers are devoted to the discussion of this issue.

Another issue, which would provoke many reactions if it were ever seriously raised, has been hanging on the horizon like a summer thunder storm—the lowering of personal income and estate tax exemptions. A paper is devoted to each of these subjects. A minor crisis of some significance has been provoked by the use of exemption from local property taxes as an accompaniment of low-cost housing projects—one paper is devoted to this subject. An introductory paper on the "General Theory of Tax Exemption" starts off the volume. The seven remaining papers are employed in filling out the outlines of the tale of tax exemptions. They vary from such time honored debating society subjects as "Exemptions to Educational, Philanthropic and Religious Organizations" to such practical titles as "Homestead Tax Exemption" and "Luring Industry Through Tax Exemption," the author of the latter being concerned not with how to lure but with the evils of attempting to do so. The exemptions of tangible and of intangible personal property are assigned a paper each. The concluding item is a discussion of the general "Exemption of Improvements" which seems to this reviewer—in spite of its intrinsic merit—to have got the single tax into this particular intellectual feast in disguise.

The Tax Policy League is again to be congratulated in presenting a lively and provocative set of papers. They naturally vary somewhat in merit and still more in the force with which they impinge on the things men are thinking about in 1939. This reviewer would have liked to have seen the subject of intergovernmental exemptions even more fully developed. Though inclined to be an anti-exemptionist he would even have been generous enough to have welcomed a vigorous paper defending the policy of mutual exemption which has existed since John Marshall decided *McCulloch* v. *Maryland*. President Roosevelt's proposal for the reciprocal removal of the exemptions which now protect the securities and salaries of one jurisdiction from taxation by another is a serious one. It is peculiarly interesting since one of its natural results will be to force wealthy people to invest in productive private enterprise whereas the general policy of the New Deal has been to discourage saving and private investment. The whole matter of the relation of the removal of these exemptions to the New Deal economic philosophy might have been profitably examined.

These are, however, counsels of perfection. This volume cannot be ignored by anyone who wants to be abreast of the times in the great field of taxation. And with one or two exceptions the papers will not do violence to the reading tastes of the layman. One always has a favorite in such a list of papers and in this case the reviewer's vote goes to Roy Blough for his paper on "Intergovernmental Exemptions from the Federal Point of View."

THOMAS H. REED

The Government of Education in Metropolitan Chicago. By John Albert Vieg. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xviii, 274 pp. $2.50.

It was only last month that New York City school officials, horrified at a slash in state aid for schools made by an economy-mad state legislature, sulkily vented their disappointment by threatening to cut kindergartens out of the school program. The rank and file of school teachers, in the meantime, descended en masse, spiritually and physically, upon Albany to demand that no matter what else was cut, the schools were to be left strictly alone.

The incident is an illustration of Mr. Vieg's contention that the popular American device of "separating" the schools from the rest of government not only does not work, but may work harm. Schools are never, in fact, non-political, for all their

vaunted independence; politics, good or bad, inevitably spills over the legal barriers between school board and mayor or city council. What measure of independence does remain results in a narrowing of vision which causes just such selfish demonstrations as occurred in New York.

Mr. Vieg's "ideal plan of school government" is sure to meet favor with all the advocates of the council-manager form of city and county government. Not only does he call for abolition of independent school boards, and appointment, instead, of a superintendent of schools by the city's chief executive, but he also insists that the way to improve school politics is to improve city politics; i.e., to adopt the council-manager plan.

Mr. Vieg has many other good ideas, but that is our favorite.

M. R.

Debts and Recovery. A Study of Changes in the Internal Debt Structure from 1929 to 1937 and a Program for the Future. *The Factual Findings,* by Albert Gailord Hart; *The Program,* by the Committee on Debt Adjustment. New York City, The Twentieth Century Fund, 1938. 366 pp. $2.75.

Issued last fall and by now well known to those whose work impinges on the subject of public and private debt in its various ramifications, this study of the Twentieth Century Fund is of especial interest at the present time when the interrelations of government credit and economic recovery are being examined with renewed vigor.

The first seven chapters, the factual findings of Dr. Hart (who based his research on preliminary work of Alfred L. Bernheim, research director for two of the Fund's previous studies), review in considerable detail the course during the depression of the credit institutions, commercial banks, building and loan associations, and like agencies, individuals and unincorporated firms, corporations, and the federal, state, and local governments. The final chapter presents the recommendations of the Fund's Committee on Debt Adjustment, of which J. Lionberger Davis, chairman of the Board of the Security National Bank Savings and Trust Company of St. Louis, was chairman. A brief but adequate appendix presents statistical data amplifying the text tables, supplemented by a satisfactory index.

The study is part of a three-year examination by the Fund of the entire debt structure of the nation, private as well as public, which has been aimed first to picture the debt adjustments that have taken place during the depression, and second, to propose ways in which the nation's debt structure can be strengthened and depression difficulties of debtors and creditors eased. The findings of this study show that during the depression debts against real property were eased (and scaled) to the greatest extent, while those against governmental units encountered the least difficulty. The conclusions stress the onerous effect of fixed charges arising from investments in debt rather than in equities during a period of economic strain, and point up in a recommendation that equity investments—direct ownership or ownership of stocks, etc.—must be encouraged to the practical discouragement of investment in debt if sustained recovery is to be attained.

W. S. S.

The Municipal Year Book, 1939. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley and Orin F. Nolting. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1939. viii, 587 pp. $5.00.

Widely recognized as the only single authoritative source of vital facts about the administration of American cities, *The Municipal Year Book* for 1939 devotes considerably more space to individual statistics of cities than have its five predecessors.

For the first time there is presented an entirely new statistical section covering police, fire, utility, welfare, health, library, and recreation activities. Among these statistics, for example, are the number of

police and fire employees, salaries, equipment, crime and fire rates, etc.—information frequently sought and difficult to find.

There is a new section on financial data for cities over 30,000 and another on intergovernmental tax exemption problems.

The Year Book is divided into six general divisions: résumé of municipal activities in each of twenty-four fields, general governmental data, municipal personnel, municipal finance, municipal activities, and sources of information. For each of the 1,809 municipalities in the United States over 5,000 population, there is provided a great deal of information such as number, salary, term, and election date for city council, titles of officials elected by the people, utilities owned, etc. Another section gives for each of 834 cities the number of employees, total salaries and wages, whether a city has a classification and pay plan for employees, and a list of cities in which municipal employees are unionized and to what unions they belong. For each of the 960 cities over 10,000 there are lists of the names of the twelve chief municipal officials.

This book, which answers almost every conceivable question about the operation of American municipalities, should be a "must" in every city hall and every college library.

A. W.

Additional Books and Reports Received

Civil Service

Right of Appeal from Removals under the Merit System. By Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. ii, 20 pp. mimeo.

The Need for Reorganization of Public Pension Systems. By The Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York, Westchester County Village Officials Association, The Merchants' Association of New York, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., of New York, Citizens Union of the City of New York. New York, 1939. 30 pp.

Education

Education for Work. By Thomas L. Norton. New York City, The McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. (for The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York, 1939. xviii, 263 pp. $2.75.

Education of Handicapped Children. By Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield Illinois, 1939. 23 pp. mimeo.

Teacher Tenure in Illinois, with Particular Reference to Teachers Outside Chicago. By Research Department, Illinois Legislative Council. Springfield, Illinois, 1939. ii, 27 pp. mimeo.

When Youth Leaves School. By Ruth E. Eckert and Thomas O. Marshall. The McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. (for The Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York), 1939. xvii, 360 pp. $3.00.

Housing

Housing Yearbook 1939. By National Association of Housing Officials. Chicago, Public Administration Service. vii, 240 pp. $3.00.

Legal Problems in the Housing Field. Part 1—Private Housing Legal Problems, by Horace Russell; Part 2—Legal Aspects of Public Housing, by Leon H. Keyserling. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 76 pp. Twenty-five cents.

Libraries

Current Issues in Library Administration. Papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago, August 1938. Edited by Carleton B. Joeckel. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xii, 392 pp. $2.00.

Investigating Library Problems. By

Douglas Waples. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xv, 116 pp. Paperbound, $1.00.

Municipal Government

Cincinnati Municipal Activities. Annual Report of the City Manager. Cincinnati, Ohio, 1939. 79 pp. illus.

Rochester 1938. Annual report of the City Manager. Rochester, New York, 1939. 44 pp. illus.

The Administration of Paris and Montreal, A Comparative Study. By Alfred John Pick. Montreal, McGill University, Department of Publications, 1939. 208 pp. Paperbound, $1.00.

Public Welfare and Relief

Rural Relief and Recovery. By Rupert B. Vance. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office (for Works Progress Administration), 1939. 32 pp.

U. S. Community Improvement Appraisal. A Report on the Work Program of the WPA. Washington, D. C., National Appraisal Committee, 1939. 62 pp.

Recreation

1938 Yearbook—Park and Recreation Progress. By United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1939. vii, 92 pp. illus. 35 cents.

Today's Leisure. By Department of Playground and Recreation. Los Angeles, California, 1939. 56 pp. illus.

State Government

The Constitutional Convention That Never Met. (In two volumes). By Zechariah Chafee, Jr. Providence, R. I., The Booke Shop, 1939. 103 and 50 pp. respectively. Fifty cents each volume.

History of State Administrative Agencies in Oregon—1843-1937. By Morris S. Isseks. Portland, Oregon State Planning Board, 1939. 331 pp. mimeo.

Miscellaneous

American Foundations and Their Fields. Compiled by Geneva Seybold. New York City, Raymond Rich Associates, 1939. viii, 218 pp. $3.75.

Insurance Costs and Practices in Governmental Subdivisions of South Dakota. By League of South Dakota Municipalities. Vermillion, South Dakota, 1939. vi, 76 pp. mimeo.

Newark Labor Relations Board, First Annual Report. Newark, New Jersey, 1939. 34 pp. mimeo. charts. Twenty-five cents.

Organization of State Highway Systems. By Research Department, Kansas Legislative Council. Topeka, 1939. xi, 30 pp. mimeo.

Parking Meters. A Synopsis of Questions and Answers. By New Haven Taxpayers, Inc. New Haven, Connecticut, 1939. 20 pp. mimeo. Twenty cents.

Readings in American Government. By Robert S. Rankin. New York City, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939. xii, 644 pp. $3.00.

The Democratic Way of Life (revised edition). By T. V. Smith. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. xxxiii, 290 pp. $2.50.

Water Pollution in the United States. Third Report of the Special Advisory Committee on Water Pollution, National Resources Committee. Washington, D. C., Government Printing Office, 1939. xiv, 165 pp.